UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The New Challenge of Wisconsin

By M. C. OTTO

The Political Crisis in Germany

By THEODORE HAHN

A Sunrise Service by the Sea

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Repression of the Nationalist Movement in India

By TARAKNATH DAS

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INDIA

I

Hail! Land of ancient name
Bharat of holy fame,
Motherland mine,
Teach me to know thy worth,
O land of sacred birth.
Thou soul of all the earth
My heart is thine.

II

Land where the sages walk
Where saints and prophets talk
Blessed be thy clime;
The glory of thy past,
Awakes to life at last,
In all the splendor vast
Of that bright time.

III

Where'er my feet may roam,
Thou art my well loved home,
My country dear.
The magic of thy air,
And all thy beauties rare,
But haunt me everywhere
Both far and near.

IV

Bharata's sons, arise!
And sing unto the skies
Fair India's praise;
Her ideals are not dead
For which her children bled,
She proudly rears her head
To great new days.

—*Selected.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI | MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1930 | NUMBER 1

STANZAS FROM THE BOSTON HYMN

[Reprinted here with thoughts of India]

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

My angel, his name is Freedom—
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways, east and west,
And fend you with his wing.

I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave:
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.

I cause from every creature
His proper good to flow;
As much as he is and doeth,
So much he shall bestow.

But, laying hands on another
To coin his labor and sweat,
He goes in pawn to his victim
For eternal years in debt.

Today unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust;
Trump of their rescue, sound!

—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*

We don't know whether or not Herbert Hoover, like Job of old, is cursing the day he was born, but we should not be at all surprised if he were cursing the day he was made President of the United States. When did a man ever encounter such ill-fortune as has persistently dogged the occupant of the White House since March 4, 1929? Grover Cleveland was a proverbially unlucky man, but he seems in retrospect to have been the happiest of politicians as compared at least with Mr. Hoover. The President is in a measure responsible for the start of his disaster in view of his summoning of a special session of Congress. But then came the collapse of the Stock Exchange. This was followed, "as the night the day," by the bad business depression which is still with us. Then came the complication of the tariff muddle, which Mr. Hoover might have helped, but didn't. And now, this past summer, has come the most terrible and prolonged and widely-extended period of heat ever known, and a drought of unprecedented proportions in the agricultural regions. In the face of such calamities as these, what becomes of the orthodox American dogma that God is a Republican, and always guarantees prosperity when his fellow-partisans are in office? If good can ever come out of evil, it comes today in the blasting of this silly idiocy by a series of misfortunes greater than any ever sustained by any Democratic administration which we chance to remember. But we doubt if Herbert Hoover sees this good, or will be in any way thankful for it when he receives the Congressional election returns this fall. For, of course, the voters, with the reasoning powers of clams, will take it out of Mr. Hoover in this election, and thus punish him for disasters for which he is no more responsible than Theodore Roosevelt was responsible for the San Francisco earthquake. But if a party claims to be in partnership with God, it must take the consequences when the partnership fails. None the less, President Hoover still remains the unluckiest of men.

The suppression of Gandhi's paper, *Young India,* long rumored and now confirmed by an announcement just received by us from the publication office in Ahmedabad, marks something like a final climax to the campaign of British tyranny in India. The native press is now practically destroyed. *Yet not destroyed!* For *Young India* has immediately begun secret publication in such form as may be possible when offices are closed, printing presses confiscated, and mail privileges denied. Thus, there lies before us on our desk two rude sheets of paper, roughly mimeographed, headed *Young India.* Under the date line, "10th July, 1930," appears the following:

Confiscation of Truth

How ruthlessly the press ordinance operates can be seen from the recent orders of the government against *Young India* and *Navajivan,* the weeklies through which Gandhiji conveyed his message of truth and non-violence to the nation up to the last minute of his arrest. His devoted followers, in charge of these papers since his interment tried to carry out his policy of strict adherence to truth and non-violence to the best of their ability, but the press has at last been confiscated and is now in the possession of the government. The action of the government is intended to suppress truth, of which it is terribly afraid, but no ordinance can confiscate truth. *Young India* will now appear in another form without the assistance of machinery but with the sympathy and cooperation of the

people. Its circulation, I hope, will be a hundred times more. So long live *Young India.*

—*Vallabhbhai J. Patel.*

A second editorial statement in this curious issue of Gandhi's paper runs as follows:

Long Live Young India

Despite all that the Government of India may do to suppress it *Young India* is going to live. It may change its form but it cannot die. So long as there is a single human hand available and all the pencils and paper in the country have not been confiscated, *Young India* will continue to appear even though it has to be written by hand.

—*Jairamdas Dolatram.*

A second issue of this seditious paper, dated "17th July, 1930," just received, shows that the editors are carrying on. Here is first-hand evidence of a real revolution, with Britain desperate and India determined. Who can doubt the outcome?

British propaganda in India is getting under way. You can't beat the British at this game! What Gilbert Parker and his propaganda forces did during the war in deceiving the American people about Germany may be taken as a perfect example of what is now going to be done in deceiving our people about India. For example! During this past summer, the London *Times* has been running a series of articles by a certain Dr. Edward Thompson on "America and India." The writer, who has had missionary experience in India, and is Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford University, is of course a full-fledged imperialist, and thus ideally equipped to give prejudiced and unfair judgment upon the present Indian situation. In the articles in question, Dr. Thompson is much concerned about the public opinion in the United States which is favorable to India. He, of course, assumes that this opinion is ignorant, sentimental, misled, and asks where such opinion could have gotten its ideas. He then proceeds to expose and denounce Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage," Upton Close's "Eminent Asians," and similar first-hand books, to ridicule liberal journalism of the *New Republic* type, and then, from the mount of his Sinaitic infallibility, to state the "truth" about India. Now on July 29th last, on the completion of the articles, there appeared a notice in the *Times* that they were being reprinted in convenient pamphlet form "*for posting to friends in America,*" and quoting prices for lots of 25, 50, 100, 250, 500, and 1,000 copies. We may now expect these pamphlets to arrive in this country by the thousands in every post. Just as we were deluged with similar pamphlets about German guilt, German atrocities, etc., during the war, so will we be deluged with this anti-Indian flood. Of course, incidentally, Dr. Sunderland's book and the other "exposed" material will get such advertising as could not be purchased for thousands of dollars. But this good side of this particular Thompson pamphlet is insignificant as compared with the mass of falsehood which will soon engulf the nation.

What can be done in the way of ignorance, prejudice and vicious slander was beautifully illustrated some weeks ago by Dr. Herbert T. Johnson, notorious pulpit sensationalist, in a sermon on Gandhi and India. Starting off with the mild assertion that "Gandhi is no more comparable to Jesus Christ, as has been claimed by some of his admirers, than the man in the street is to be compared to Shakespeare," Dr. Johnson made the following statements as reported in the Boston *Globe:*

The Mohammedans, whose interests are identical with the British and other classes, number 210,000,000 *of the* 300,000,000 *in India.*

The total population of India is between 320,000,000 and 350,000,000 people. Of these, the Mohammedans number some 70,000,000. There are not 210,000,000 Mohammedans in the entire world, or were not at the last census. How "identical" the "interests" of these Mohammedans are with the British may be gathered from the fact that the head of the All-India National Congress at this writing is a Mohammedan.

Gandhi is given to "posing for effect." The Indian leader has false teeth, but goes without them most of the time in order to present the aspect of a saint who has renounced the world.

This statement is a lie, and a wicked lie. A vicious inference from a false premise, it damns only the man who makes it.

Gandhi was denounced for his "pantherism" and his belief in "a God who has a heart of stone," and for an alleged assertion that "the life of a sheep and a man were equally sacred."

We count it quite a feat for a pantheist to believe in "a God." But where does Dr. Johnson find any evidence in Gandhi's teachings of "a God who has a heart of stone?" As to the "sheep" and the "man," this may have some reference to the Indian doctrine of reincarnation. If so, what of it?

Denouncing Gandhi as "a politician," Dr. Johnson asserted "the British Empire has always stood for justice toward India."

We hope this statement was cabled to India. It will be front-page news there.

No republic or democracy can exist without the Bible and Christianity, and every man not a Christian is a slacker.

This silences us. We are dumb.

Episcopal bishops have, with few exceptions, seldom stirred our enthusiasm, but the three hundred and seven bishops of all countries recently gathered together in the Lambeth conference in England took action on certain controversial questions which tempts us to raise a cheer, even to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving. In all seriousness, the proceedings of this conference mark something like an epoch in the history of the Episcopal church, if not of Christianity itself. Take the statement on war, for example, which falls short only by a single step from the ideals of the most radical pacifism:

When nations have solemnly bound themselves by treaty, covenant and pact for the pacific settlement of international disputes, the conference holds that the Christian Church of every nation should refuse to countenance any war in regard to which the government of its own country has not declared its willing-

ness to submit the matter in dispute to arbitration or conciliation.

The attitude of the conference on birth control was also remarkable. Reaffirming the principle of strict monogamy and of the indissoluble character of marriage, and defining "complete abstinence" as the "primary and obvious method" of limiting parenthood, nevertheless the conference said:

> In those cases where there is (a) clearly felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood, and where there is a morally sound reason for avoiding complete abstinence, the conference agrees that other methods may be used, provided this is done in the light of Christian principles. The conference recommends strong condemnation of the use of any methods of birth control from selfishness, luxury, or mere convenience.

The conference did not speak on India, but it issued one declaration which may not unfairly be interpreted as a condemnation of British imperialism and a hope for Indian self-rule. Thus is the resolutions on race relations, the conference said:

> The ruling of one race by another can only be justified when the highest welfare of the subject race is the constant aim of the government, and when admission to an increasing share in the government of the country is the objective steadily pursued.

It is an interesting question—this question as to whether an atheist, who will not take the oath in court, is qualified to give testimony! The question was raised anew by an adverse ruling in a Communist case this summer by Judge Walter D. Van Riper of the Court of Common Pleas in Newark, New Jersey. Of course, there can be no question that, in its origin at least, the oath was founded upon fear of and reverence for the deity. Its sanction was an attempt to bind a witness to the truth by binding him in pledge thereto to God. If God is taken away, what is left of the oath? It is also true that exemptions from the taking of the oath, as in the case of Quakers, for example, do not bear upon the question in dispute, since the Quakers and others give a scriptural—*i. e.*, a religious—reason for their request, and in any case themselves believe in God. The position of these persons is therefore quite different from that of atheists, materialists, communists, who reject the oath because they deny the deity. But, on the other hand, is the fact that in this country, under our Constitution, there is supposed to be no intermingling of religion and state affairs. Thus, in chapter 1, section 4, of the New Jersey Constitution, we read:

> There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another; *no religious test shall be required* as a qualification for any office *or public trust;* and *no person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.*

How can an oath, implying a belief in God be enforced under this provision? Furthermore, is it not true that an oath in court is a mere legal expedient for placing a witness in liability of severe punishment if he lies upon the stand? Is it not simply a device, in other words, for establishing the crime of perjury? And if this device is for sincere reasons unsatisfactory to Communists, as for other equally sincere reasons it is unsatisfactory to Quakers, why not seek in the one case as in the other some new device?

The New Challenge of Wisconsin

It looks as if something of large social significance were happening in Wisconsin. The practical idealism for which the state is widely known, but which for a decade or more has been eclipsed, seems to be reasserting itself. What form it will take as it develops cannot be foretold, but the rebirth of social idealism is in itself a challenging phenomenon.

Everybody is more or less aware of the contemporary dearth of political, social, and moral enthusiasm. As one talks with men and women, of whatever age or station, the disturbing thing about the experience is the atmosphere of disillusionment which dominates the conversation, the lack of moving faith in the possibility of social betterment as the result of deliberate effort. If Jefferson and Hamilton or Lincoln and Douglas were to awaken and to revisit the scenes of their strenuous endeavor, they would unquestionably be startled by the enormous material changes which have overtaken their country; but, having caught their breath, they would be as greatly if not more deeply surprised by the inescapable evidence on every hand that disintegration has overtaken an attitude toward life which they and their fellows accepted in common, and without which citizenship in the United States was to them unthinkable. This attitude was one of deliberate devotion to the realization on this vast continent of the greatest measure of well being and happiness attainable by mankind.

Judging by the bulk of what is spoken and written on the subject, the responsibility for this state of affairs rests upon the younger generation. To believe this, one must somehow escape contact with the generation in the saddle or remain impervious to its influence. Youth is, to be sure, realistic. Youth refuses, as probably never before, to take its elders at talk value. But no one can look with understanding into the face of the younger generation without finding there an expression of a wistfulness and hope which has nothing in common with cynicism. And no one can associate with youth sympathetically without discovering that the economic materialism and the gross morality which corrodes the lives of so many of their elders has not yet done its work on youth. Normal young men and women still hope to make something

significant of their lives and of the life about them which they touch. Consciously or unconsciously they refuse to accept life on the terms offered by the world which the older leadership has made. Instead of this they seek to bargain with life for more humanly satisfying terms. And so long as this is true of them, they possess potentialities of moral greatness.

But wherever the credit or blame for the existing spiritual poverty belongs, there can be no doubt that it is the younger generation to which we must look for a social renaissance. That is why Wisconsin is just now of peculiar interest. Off hand the present contest for the governorship is merely a matter of local politics, important or unimportant depending upon what one thinks of political contests in general. Seen in its proper setting, however, it is not so much a political battle as it is a conflict between basically opposed theories of life. On the one side are the forces which represent the prevailing social and economic conditions; on the other side are the forces which aim to replace these conditions with something more just to the average man and more worthy of human aspiration. The struggle therefore bears striking resemblance to others in our history. Unless all appearances are deceptive, we are witnessing the beginning in Wisconsin of another crucial battle for human rights and dignities, one which will not end with the voting in September or November, or spend its force within the borders of a solitary state of the Union. The rapidity with which the movement grows will depend upon the ability of the rank and file to catch again the vision of a great cause. But the beginning has been made and will not easily be stopped.

The representative of the group which stands for the *status quo,* Governor Kohler, a successful business man of a distinctly high type and temperamentally humane, is reputed to be liberal in his leanings. He is, however, prevented by the intellectual habits of a life time from envisaging a society different from that presented to his daily environment. Those who talk of such an ideal strike him as demagogues. Even were he able to look with sympathy upon an attempt to refashion the general conditions of human living, powerful men whose representative he is, some of them as unscrupulous socially as they are powerful, would not permit his sympathies to take material form. He therefore stands, whether he definitely chooses to or not, as the leader of the forces of reaction. His influence is one of the big obstacles in education and in legislation with which those must contend who would achieve a progressive reconstruction of society in the interest of a more liveable, worthy life for the mass of men and women.

It is not a new venture in Wisconsin for the progressive group to battle with conservatism and with the sinister forces which use honest conservatism as their tool. In fact the pages which record such battles are among the most dramatic and significant in our national political history. Anyone acquainted with America's recent past will not need to be reminded that far-reaching advantages have been gained not only for the people of a particular state, but for us all, as a result of victories won by those who made up the progressive movement in Wisconsin. Many of those who served this movement heroically now rest from their earthly labors; others fortunately remain, and remain loyal to the tradition which, by calling Philip La Follette to leadership, united the older and the younger generation in a great cause, and placed upon a young man of thirty-three the obligation of loyalty to a noble tradition and the responsibility actualizing that tradition in new ways adapted to the unprecedented era in which the younger generation's life is cast.

Philip LaFollette is well equipped by nature to assume this leadership. He has the qualities of his illustrious father—quick, constructive intelligence, conspicuous powers of concentration, marked personal integrity, unusual courage, and a big heart; but they are his own qualities, no less vitally integrated and originally blended in his own personality than they were in his father's. Nothing is finer about him than his loyalty to the memory of this father, and nothing is more obvious than the fact that he is nevertheless unambiguously himself. His talents and industry have already made him highly successful in the legal profession and opened for him flattering prospects in the academic world. At a time when able and honest leaders are the outstanding need, it is reassuring, not to say thrilling, to see a young man of his caliber enthusiastically devoting himself to the advancement of practical social idealism in the field of politics.

We may, therefore, conclude that something of large social significance is in the process of happening in Wisconsin. The outcome is of course in the keeping of the future. It can hardly fail, however, of being an outcome which will add to Wisconsin's luster as a pioneer state in constructive legislation for the common good. Handicapped by lack of funds to spread its message (for the money is on the other side), speaking for a social faith which the last decade and a half has depressed, demanding devotion to the interests of more than a fortunate fraction of the population, and constantly misrepresented by those who know the art of misleading the public, the new social impulse may not at once make itself triumphantly felt. Indeed it may turn out that the change which has overtaken the United States in the last quarter of a century is more devastating to man's interest in social melioration than we suspect, and that for some time to come we are fated to follow immediate desires in headlong fashion. On the other hand, things may not be nearly so desperate. And in any case, as social

idealists have said from Plato onward, one who fails in a noble cause has not truly failed, but is victorious in spite of appearances.

But why speak of failure? In such matters the important factor is faith—the kind of faith which, as William James used to say, helps to produce the conditions it believes in. And this realistic faith is in evidence and growing. Outspoken enthusiasm is everywhere showing itself among young and old as the education of a new generation in practical idealism is under way, with one of their own as teacher. It is a spectacle to cheer the hearts of all who have hopes for mankind.

M. C. Otto.

Parables of War and Peace

XVII

Guilty!

In my dream I seemed to stand as in a scene of judgment. On a throne of glory sat the Son of Man, and before him stood the peoples of the earth. Two angels, tall and terrible, that held aloft two swords of silent flame, guarded the throne at left and right, and watched as watch the sentinels of dawn. And by the gathered peoples of the earth stood One alone, who knew not hate, nor love, but only truth.

And I saw from out the peoples of the earth come forth before the throne a group of men. And the Son of Man looked down in pity from a face as beautiful as seas beneath the crescent moon. And the Son of Man spake unto the One that knew not hate, nor love, but only truth, and said:

"These have hurt and destroyed upon the earth; burned harvest fields, wrecked cities, stolen the goods and treasures of their fellows.

"These have invaded homes; brought witness false against their neighbors.

"They have killed—yes, murdered in the blood of wrath.

"Like Satan, whom thou hast bound in darkness and eternal pain, these have sought evil, and made it to be their good.

"Behold, Great Lord, these violators of every law which thou hast made; behold, and judge."

And the One who stood alone, and knew not hate nor love, but only truth, was still.

And I waited, as one who waits within the chamber of the sick for death. And I saw the Son of Man grow dark, as when the clouds above the sea hide moon and stars. And soft, as though in sorrow infinite, he said:

"Beloved, have ye done these deeds?"

And the men, speaking as speak an organ's undertones, gave answer, saying,

"Yea, Lord, we have done these deeds."

"Then," said the Son of Man, "ye are guilty of offense!"

"Nay, Lord," they answered, "not guilty. *We did these things in war!*"

John Haynes Holmes.

Social Progress*

'Tis not the large, the huge, the vast
Immensities and show of power
Wherein doth gracious progress dower
The present better than the past.

Not mighty cities ranging far,
Machines electric, gas and steam,
Nor prisms deft that sift the beam
Which tells the tale of sun and star:

Not structures leaping toward the sky
Like Babel's fabled tower of old,
Nor aeroplanes which, soaring bold,
E'en swifter than the vulture fly:

Not ships that flit beneath the main,
Nor medic skill outwitting death,
Nor radio strands whose magic breath
Far voices bear o'er mount and plain:

Not rays that pierce the solids through,
Nor subways with their throngs and roars,
Nor science which all realms explores,
Inventions nor discoveries new:

Not these are progress. Tools are these
Whose uses may be good or ill
As variant as the human will
To act this way or that doth please.

In growth of things no progress lies.
Nay, progress is the growth of men
Who pass from out their narrow ken
To visions boundless as the skies.

Yea, progress is the weak made strong,
The sick made whole, the joyless glad.
Fair progress reigns when groanings sad
Give way to hope's exultant song.

When, peace prevailing over strife,
All nations silence, hate o'ercome,
The rumblings cruel of martial drum
And cherish each the other's life:

Sweet patience with all erring ones
And tolerance and sympathy;
Whate'er enlarges liberty,
And love that all oppression shuns:

No slums, no crime, no bitter need,
None workless who aspires to work,
None seeking his due task to shirk,
None smirched with selfishness or greed:

None dying when unripe to die,
No ignorance, no squalor more:
'Twas visioned in the days of yore,
Yet only here doth progress lie.

More beauteous lives and fairer souls,
Behold 'tis these true progress are!
'Tis these alone shall lift the bar
That keeps us from the shining goals.

(Rabbi) Abraham Cronbach.

*The first publication of this hymn. Verses 1, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 18 appear in the forthcoming Jewish Hymn Book.—Editor.

The Political Crisis in Germany

[*From Our Special Correspondent*]

In a recent issue of UNITY it was stated that "Americans, whose forefathers fought and died for independence from the same Empire that now holds India in thrall, should be the first to understand and sympathize with their Eastern brethren." There is still another vital reason why Americans should gladly welcome India's efforts at independence. Did not America stand forth as champion of all peoples who desired and longed for national independence and did she not blazen forth the slogan of self-determination? The movement of Gandhi and his followers is but the fulfillment of those ideals for which America has presumably always stood, and therefore Americans "should be the first to understand and sympathize with their Eastern brethren."

A further step toward independence has now been won in Germany through the cessation of the occupation of the Ruhr. The writer himself witnessed the celebration in honor of the "evacuation of the French" in one of the cities on the Rhine. This celebration was very inspiring. Everywhere was rejoicing. People thronged the streets in spite of the drizzling rain, laughing, jostling each other good-naturedly, and acting every bit like children let out of school. They felt the freedom and the taking away of restrictions that had come again at last. In the windows of restaurants and wine-shops one saw the sign "Today liberation wine," or "Liberation dance from 8 to 12 o'clock." The people of the Rhineland are known for their love of gaiety, and were glad to be free from foreign occupation, and quickly took down the signs of "rue . . ." which had been placed at every street corner.

In the withdrawal of the army of occupation at this time two facts are paramount: First, that the withdrawal has taken place sooner than the time mentioned in the Versailles Treaty, and second, that this earlier withdrawal is an absolute result of peaceful policy on the part of Germany. It was the policy of fulfillment (*Erfuellungspolitik*) which was advocated at the close of the war by such men as Erzberger, Rathenau, Dr. Wirth. These men were unfortunately strongly opposed by the Nationals of Germany because they imagined that such a policy would play into the hands of the former enemy, whereas, alas, this peaceful, democratic policy of progressive Germans was not at all supported by the democratically-minded of the victorious countries. When Stresemann, himself a Nationalist, advocated this same policy, he was able to put it into effect because he had greater support to back him up.

Now, when the ideals of these men have borne fruit, the people of Germany are realizing that this peaceful policy has been more powerful to bring about results than any antagonistic attitude could have been. Many of the leading German newspapers have in these days written editorials in this sense. Of course, the extreme Right-Wing papers have not yet come to admit that this peaceful policy has brought about this result. The present German Cabinet, which has only recently been formed to adjust the internal political situation of Germany, and which consists mainly of members of the extreme Right, issued a manifesto on the day of the withdrawal of the occupation army from the Rhineland, which made no grateful mention of the part played by Erzberger, Rathenau, Dr. Wirth, or even Stresemann, because they felt it necessary to regard the opinion of the radicals on the Right. Not so the venerable warrior, Hindenburg! Although eighty-three years old, he traveled to many cities on the Rhine, attended their celebrations and in his addresses recalled with gratitude the services of those who had made this earlier withdrawal possible. It is the more touching that Hindenburg sent Frau Stresemann a telegram of appreciation for the work which her late husband had accomplished when one considers that Stresemann at first had opposed Hindenburg's candidacy for presidency.

Just at this time the disharmony in the political life of Germany is again very evident in the preparations which are now being made for the forthcoming elections. It is unbelievable that at the last election for the Reichstag the city of Hamburg alone set up not less than twenty-seven political parties, among them a party of hatmakers and a party of unmarried citizens. Through this dissipation about 450,000 votes were absolutely worthless because they had no representation in the Parliament. At this writing, at the beginning of the election fight, seventeen parties have set up their lists, and more are expected.

What is the reason that unexpectedly an election must now be held? The answer lies in the chaotic condition of Germany's finances and the inability of the last Reichstag to meet the situation because, with the many parties represented, the Cabinet was unable to find a solution which would be subscribed to by all. As a means of solving the problem President Hindenburg resorted to Paragraph 48 of the Constitution (Article 48 is one of the few clauses through which the Constitution permits the President to act independently). The President authorized the Chancellor to empower the Cabinet, in accordance with Article 48, to decree a special taxation to cover the outstanding expenses in case it be not accepted by the Parliament. The latter body refused, whereupon the Reichstag was immediately dissolved. A new Reichstag must now be elected. This election will be the most serious election fight since the beginning of the Republic because it will decide the fate of democracy in Germany. Unfortunately, this political crisis comes at a time when Germany's economic state is at the lowest ebb. Just through this economic stress with its vast army of unemployed the parties that promulgate dictatorship find a ready hearing in their plans to overthrow democracy with its parliamentary system.

Why is there so much political disharmony in a country whose people have such a deep sense of harmony? Why are there so many more parties now than before the war? The "allied and associated powers" are very largely to blame, because at the decisive moment and later they failed to "make the world safe for democracy" by furthering the democracy in the new German republic. The democratic party of Germany which increased so amazingly immediately upon the close of the War, is now dwindling very considerably because many of its members feel that they were deceived in the hope for true democracy.

A great deal could have been accomplished for democracy in a country where such a sense of order, organization, harmony, prevails.

During the first years directly following the close of the Great War, one saw and heard much in Germany of groups of young people, boys and girls, marching through the streets, singing old German folksongs. They were classed under the title known to the outside as the "Youth Movement." In those days they met together during the week, discussed all sorts of problems with great solemnity and on Sundays usually went off for a hike loaded with knapsacks carrying their provisions for the day. During the past two years one has seen less and less of these groups. What has become of them? Have they scattered abroad and forgotten their ideals? No, indeed, but they have come to see that no movement can progress if it stops at the point where hikes and discussions are its main purpose. These young post-war people have grown a few years older and have gradually transformed their ideals into acts. They are now trying to live what they then talked about. All over one can find similar groups, who are making less noise, but are doing good works: groups who are trying to spread pacifism, groups who are advocating prohibition, groups who are working against the horrors of vivisection, and many other groups, all of whom are aiming at helping to make the world better. It is a natural progression from "In the beginning was the word," to "by their fruits ye shall know them."

Helibronn am Neckur, Germany.

THEODORE HAHN.

A Sunrise Service by the Sea*

A few miles off the coast of Northern Massachusetts there is a cluster of rocky islands known as the Isles of Shoals, a singularly picturesque group, "ringed round by the sapphire sea," and far enough from land to give the feeling that they belong wholly to the ocean world. On Star Island, one of the group, there are held every summer various series of unique and deeply interesting religious meetings, each series usually a week or two weeks in duration. Impressive features of these meetings are what are known as "Candle Light Services" every evening, and "Sunrise Services" on pleasant mornings. Let me give a brief description of one of the latter, in which it was my privilege to have part.

Ten minutes before sunrise, sixty of us, men and women, make our way from the Oceanic hotel to the top of the highest elevation nearby. Reaching there, led by a cornet, we sing the familiar and fitting hymn,

God is love, His mercy brightens
All the path in which we rove.

When we have finished, we turn our eyes to the East, and what a sight greets us! All the sky is aglow in advance of the sun, and every floating cloud is tipped with gold, pink and crimson. Anon, a burning spot on the ocean's farthest rim, growing every moment more brilliant, tells us the Lord of Light is at hand. As we gaze, he appears, first his crown of dazzling light, then his bright forehead, then his glorious face, while all the sea between the spot where he emerges and our feet trembles and shines as if it were liquid gold and diamonds. Looking with eyes deeper than those of the body, behind this sun we see the Eternal Sun, who was before this sun was born, and whose messenger this sun is. What can so well express our emotions of wonder and awe as the hymn, which we sing next:

O worship the King, all glorious above,
O gratefully sing his power and his love.
Our Shield and Defender, the Ancient of days,
Pavilioned in splendor and girded with praise.

O tell of his might, O sing of his grace,
Whose robe is the light, whose canopy space,
He has 'stablished the earth by a changeless decree,
And round it hath cast, like a mantle, the sea.

Appropriate scriptures follow:

The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein.

In the morning I will direct my prayer unto thee and will look up.

I will worship the Lord, who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is;

Who by his strength settest fast the mountains;

Who stillest the noise of the sea, the tumult of its waves.

O Lord, how great are thy works! and thy thoughts are very deep.

Then a brief address beginning with these words:

In this glad hour of morning, when light is renewed out of darkness, and the glory of God shineth upon the face of the deep, let us lift up our hearts in gratitude and joy to him whose care is over all, that in his strength we may find strength, and in his light we may see light.

Then a prayer:

O Lord God, who fillest the heavens with thy glory, the earth with thy goodness, and the sea with thy splendor, we would lift our hearts to thee in reverence and thanksgiving. O Lord God, who turnest the night into morning, grant that we may be children of the day. Let the Sun of Righteousness shine evermore in our hearts. O Lord God, who art the Eternal Light, that lighteth sun, and stars, shed thy light on our souls even as the sun spreads its splendor on the earth and the sea.

Then another hymn and a benediction, and we go back to our hotel, feeling that we have passed through one of the great experiences of our lives.

Surely religion needs more of the morning spirit. So does all life. Hope and faith are the mind's morning visions. Prophet-light is morning light. Poets and seers are men who look with morning eyes. Optimism is the bright spirit of the morning, while pessimism is the dark spirit of the night.

Writes Rabindranath Tagore:

Every morning comes to us naked and white, fresh as a flower. Its feet are untired and its eyes undimmed. It carries the golden amulet of ageless eternity, at whose touch all wrinkles vanish from the forehead of creation. The curtain of the night is drawn aside, and life emerges without a speck of dust on its garment, without a furrow of age on its lineaments. Here is a lesson for man. Life is immortal youthfulness. As every day is born new, so it is for man's soul to be born new every day and every moment.

If there is anything that should teach us that

*The Isles of Shoals meetings have just been completed this year. For two months successive groups of happy people have gathered on these islands for refreshment of body, mind and spirit.—Editor.

God is forever in the world, it is His mornings. It is because His faithfulness fails not that mornings come in their appointed time, and at the very moment they are due; it is because He does not slumber that the world is awakened from its slumber when the proper second arrives. For what is the awakening of all nature but the touch of the finger of God?

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Repression of the Nationalist Movement in India

Virtually there is no civil government in India and to all intents and purposes the country is ruled by the military and the police. Furthermore the Viceroy is using his extraordinary power and is governing the country by issuing ordinances. These ordinances are to destroy the freedom of press, assembly, and political organization.

In a recent issue of the *Times* (London) it was reported that

> . . . in a written reply to a question in the British Parliament, the Secretary of State for India said that of the 79 newspapers and 97 printing presses from which deposits of security have been demanded, *under the press ordinance* 67 *newspapers and* 55 *presses have closed down.*

It is not an over-estimate that several hundred Indian editors and printers are now in jail because they dared to speak in a manner which displeased the British Government of India or the provincial authorities.

There is no question about the fact that orderly and non-violent processions, meetings and picketings have been forbidden by ordinances and thousands have been arrested because they have ignored the injunctions against human rights. Various political organizations in India, including the Working Committee of the All-India National Congress have been declared unlawful associations.

It should be noted that in India singing national songs is regarded as spreading sedition; wearing the Gandhi cap and "*Khaddar* dress" (dress made of home-spun cloth) is sedition; displaying the Indian national flag is sedition. In short anything that may be regarded as harboring and manifesting the spirit of patriotism is regarded as sedition, and Indian patriots are being put in prison after mock-trials. Lest there may be any doubt about the veracity of the above statement, I wish to draw attention to various dispatches of Mr. Charles Dailey (special correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* in Paris) from Bombay:

> In the province there is a ban against the Nationalist flag and the wearing of Gandhi caps and arrests mount amazingly among both sexes. . . . Four men were arrested in Tanuky, Madras Province, for singing a national song and were sentenced to six months each; *while four women volunteers were arrested in the streets of Nellore today for the same* reason. . . . In Guzrat area alone more than 517 persons have been arrested for picketing liquor shops.

Another dispatch from Bombay, dated June 29th, gives the following news:

> Official activity is increasing in other regions of the interior, with many arrests, *including hundreds of women* and also a male octogenerian, who was seeking to prevent a youth from entering a liquor shop. The ban against the Gandhi cap has been extended, while the Bezwada Bar Association is investigating the insult to a lawyer, who, when entering the court to defend a client, was stripped of his Khaddar garment, leaving him naked. . . . Arrests for non-payment of land revenues are mounting, while more than 100 were arrested in the Dharasan reign for instigating tax resistance. . . . *Homes and offices of numerous lawyers have been searched without warrants and that numerous barristers have been arrested. The roundup of Congress officers continues, while further native newspapers have been suppressed. At several meetings many were injured by police charges. . . .*

The same journalist in his despatch of July 4th, indicates that the political prisoners in India have mounted to tens of thousands. There is no chance of any redress against police excesses in India. He writes:

> The Rajahmundry Bar Association has formed a committee to inquire into the alleged excesses of the police, *but it was forbidden to meet, being immediately declared an unlawful assembly, and was dissolved by the police. One lawyer in the interior has been sentenced to a year of rigorous imprisonment for asserting in court, "Fill the jails for the offense of patriotism."* . . . At Sylet, 52 political prisoners revolted at the discipline and raised patriotic cries which were only suppressed by the assistance of the military *when all were confined to cages.*

Any foreigner who shows any sympathy to the aspirations of the Indian people is ordered to leave India; and the case in point is that *an American missionary, Rev. Keithan, stationed at Madura, who wore home-spun and taught Gandhi's views to the pupils of the mission schools has been ordered by the Governor of Madras to leave India.*

It is clear now that the British Government has at last thrown off the mask and has declared the whole Indian Nationalist movement an unlawful movement promoting sedition. It has declared the All-India National Congress Working Committee "an unlawful assembly" and arrested and imprisoned Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, its acting president, and Dr. Syed Mahmud, the secretary, on the charge of belonging to an unlawful assembly and advocating civil disobedience, picketing and non-payment of taxes which has promoted organized defiance to the established authority in India, and for spreading disaffection among Indian police and army by commending the Indian soldiers who refused to fire upon un-armed Indians at Peshwar where literally hundreds of Indians were wounded by the British military and scores were killed.

The *Times* (London) has defended the action of the Government of India in the following ways:

> This marks a definite and most serious development in the present situation in India. *It virtually amounts to a declaration of war on the Congress itself, followed by immediate capture of its commander-in-chief.*

The immediate cause of Mr. Nehru's arrest has been given by the correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* in the following terms:

> Nehru's arrest was precipitated by a recent speech at Bomby which was reiterated at Allahabad, in which he stated: *"We must be masters of our own house, but we are ready to agree to reasonable* terms for a period of transfer of power from the British administration to Indian. We must meet the British people to discuss these terms as nation to nation on an equal footing." This utterance was construed by the government as inciting to treason against Britain and when Nehru reiterated it at Allahabad adding that the Congress could not be bound by any decisions of a round table conference, but would meet only in a manner similar to the naval reduction conference the arrests were made instantly.

There is not the least doubt that the majority of the Indian people are supporting the All-India National Congress; and the British Government in India, to up-

hold its absolute authority in the country has decided to penalize the majority of a nation of more than 320 millions. This is possibly the most colossal blunder on the part of British statesmen. No government can survive when it loses the confidence of the people and depends solely upon brute force. The act of the British Government in India has aided the cause of defiance to the existing laws and hundreds of thousands of Indians are willing to face prison and other hardships while tens of thousands of Indian political offenders are crowding Indian jails. *Today there is the same spirit in India as existed in the United States of America before the Revolution; when John Adams advised the American public to defy British laws which infringed upon their rights.*

There is no denying that the British Government is depending upon mere brute force; and this is evident from the following resolution adopted by a meeting held in London in which Mrs. William Graham, the wife of the President of the Board of Trade presided:

The conference realizing that force is no remedy in the present situation in India, views with grave concern, the increasing dependence of the British administration on methods endangering the life and liberty of the Indian people (London *Times*, June 21, 1930).

All forms of legalized brutalities of the British Government are receiving support from the British press in India and typical is the following expressed editorially by the *Times* of India (Bombay) in approving the repressive measures:

The cardinal fact is that the revolution is in progress and it is for the first and most important duty of the general and local governments to meet it with every weapon they possess.

Some far-sighted Englishmen realize that the Indian nationalist movement cannot be crushed by repressive measures, but they are alienating the whole nation. Reaction of the better classes of Englishmen is so pronounced that F. W. Wilson, British editor, under the caption of "Alienating the Nation," published in the issue of June 23rd of the *Daily Mail* of Bombay (which is the organ of the Liberals of India), an open letter to the Viceroy wherein he stated, in part,

That the recent Government policy, accompanied by the police excesses, was of the most revolting brutality. . . . . There are hundreds of His Majesty's subjects nursing wounds from police lathis (staves) and there are thousands who have turned away disgusted from the support of the Government because they were unable to detect the benevolence behind the lathi blows. Does not His Excellency recognize that in what is being done in His Excellency's name is the surest way of ultimately severing British connection? Is His Excellency not aware that there are millions not approving of the policy which is driving them hourly into more than passive sympathy for their fellow countrymen? I am writing this as an Englishman, believing that it is the bounden duty of every British patriot to do everything possible to preserve British connection in a form compatible with the country's desire to be the master of its own house.

In spite of such appeals from British and Indian quarters, repression in India is in full swing. It may be confidently asserted that repressive policy will fail and the only thing it will accomplish is increased bitterness among the Indian people.

The most remarkable thing about the spirit of defiance against the British Government in India, is that all classes of people, in all parts of the country, are being affected by it. The women of India, the youth of the land, workers, and the patient suffering peasants are aroused. Today several hundreds of Indian women are now in prison for championing the cause of Indian freedom and for determined violation of the British laws in India which infringe upon human rights. Among the women arrested are the most enlightened of Indian womanhood and are sources of inspiration to the whole nation. One of the women leaders, Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhya, while arrested for leading a parade of Indian National volunteers left this message to the Indian people:

Carry on the fight until British Imperialism becomes only a dark shadow of the past, India's freedom will open the gateway for world freedom.

When Mrs. Captain and Mrs. Munshi of Bombay were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment, they left the message:

Fight to the finish; achieve or die.

The martyrdom of thousands of Indians who have given their lives for the cause of freedom, the appeals of the political leaders, the appeal of mothers and sisters to the Indian youth, have produced a tremendous effect. A spirit of fearlessness has taken the place of indifference and the Indian youth are determined to defy all forms of repression. No one can predict how soon India will win her freedom; but it is certain the strength for freedom in India has begun in all earnestness and will be carried on until India will be free and independent, and there must eventually come the Republic of the United States of India.

TARAKNATH DAS.

The social argument on behalf of Birth Control is unanswerable. No problem now confronting humanity is more urgent and menacing than that of population, and there is no answer to this problem except that offered by the application of scientific contraception.

But I am interested in Birth Control not only as a means of meeting the ills which spring from overpopulation, but also as a means of improving the health, happiness, and character of the human race. We can breed a nobler type of humankind if we undertake to control and direct the birth process as we control and direct other natural processes, instead of letting it control and direct us. The progress of man has always been coincident with his mastery of natural forces, and his dedication of them to the nobler purposes of his own existence. What he has done in the case of other forces he must now do in the case of the most potent force of all, that of sex, and thus purify, uplift and redeem his life.

But deepest of all, I believe in Birth Control as a great spiritual influence. Marriage to my mind has two functions—the biological function which pertains to the continuance of the race, and the spiritual function which pertains to the ennobling of the individual. I believe, in other words, that love between man and woman, as well as the reproduction of children, is a mission of the marital relation. Such love can be fostered and strengthened only as the sexual act, which is itself a symbolical and sacramental expression, is freed from the fear of conception when unsought and undesired. Birth Control is man's final gesture of emancipation. I believe in it fundamentally because I am a teacher of religion and would serve man's highest spiritual interests. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Birth Control Review

Law and Order—A Comparison

I believe it was in the summer of 1921 that there was a great coal strike in England. It lasted for eight or nine weeks and not a single mine was working. The stock of coal in the country was rapidly exhausted and it actually became necessary to import coal, which was sold at exorbitant prices. Quite close to my house in Lancashire, on the estate of a great landlord, the coal miners of the district, finding a coal outcrop on the surface, made a forced entry and began to heave coal. They organized the whole affair and appointed three shifts of men. It was fairly good coal and sold very cheaply, and people came from a distance of ten miles or so with lorries and motors to take coal home. The men made a good income and the people were much relieved. These private grounds which had been pretty and secluded and where formerly no one was allowed to tresspass, were now honeycombed with deep black pits, littered with black coal rubbish, and cut up by the wheels of carts, lorries and motors. The whole place resounded with the noise of busy workmen, the rush of motors, etc., and the passage to and fro of numerous spectators, who came to witness the miners' enterprise. The police dared not inferere with the daylight robbery carried out by the strikers who were not only removing coal which did not belong to them for their private use, but were selling it as well and without paying a cent of royalty.

Many a time have the unemployed marched to the Municipal offices or workhouses and demanded food. In one city they even burnt the Town Hall but no one dared to arrest either man or ringleaders, nor was there any question of shooting them. British workmen have had numerous scuffles with the police at various times, but only once during my stay of twenty-eight years was there any shooting. That was in connection with the Featherstone coal mines, and the late Lord Asquith, who ordered the shooting, was thenceforth and to the end of his life, known as the "Featherstone Murderer."

In India we find matters quite different, When Lord Irwin's Government arrested and shut Mahatma Gandhi up in jail, the country lost, for the time being, her greatest leader, guide, benefactor and idol. In all the great cities work ceased, shops were closed, and the people went out in procession through the important streets and roads in order finally to meet and hear what their leaders had to say. In Lahore there was a two days' hartal. On May 6 about 4 p. m. I was summoned to attend to some people who, I was told, had been injured. I immediately motored to the spot, meeting on the way a peaceful procession of men and boys who marched along shouting their favorite slogans. The wounded belonged to this procession and were already being attended by a colleague. While I was examining the injuries, I heard a noise in the distance and through an opening between the shops I saw the big "regulation lathis" (solid bamboo staffs about 4½ to 5 feet long about 1¼ inch in diameter, and covered at one end with 3 or 4 inches of brass or iron) falling on the processionists. I hurried there and questioned the officer as to why he had ordered the use of lathis against unarmed and innocent people. He callously answered that he had done it and that I could do what I liked. I was told that he ordered the beating with a foul oath. Seventy-five cases were attended to by my colleague and myself, but as to how many went home without receiving assistance we could not say. Most of the injuries were long contusions, many of them on the back and some on the legs and arms. Some also showed wounds and abrasions. The head injuries, of which there were many, bled profusely. One of these was a wound 1¾ inches long and ¾ inch wide at its widest part and was through to the bone. Most had more than one injury and some had as many as seven. One of the injured, a child of 6 or 7 years of age was bleeding from a nasty wound on the head, about a dozen were boys of 12 or 13, and one was a blind man of about 30 years of age. One man remarked that he had come from Ferozepore to buy things for his shop and merely happened to be standing by when the police charged. Another 13 years' old boy told us that the policeman who hit him was his own elder brother. One boy had a severe head wound which necessitated his being sent to the Sir Ganga Ram Free Hospital for suitable treatment. The wounded (or their parents) refused to go to the Government Hospital. They were probably afraid that they would be insulted and humiliated as were those who went to the Amritsar Hospital after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

This is merely one of many such and worse episodes, for on this day thousands were injured by *lathi* or gun, and many deaths have taken place in Delhi, Howrah and other places. (The exact number of dead and wounded will probably never be known.)

If the brutal and illegal assaults meted out to the peaceful processionists of Lahore by the representative of law and order, may be taken as a criterion of happenings all over the country, it is evident that they are intended to humiliate and injure the people in order to provoke them to violence. In no country have crowds been known to remain peaceful and non-violent under such irritating and humiliating circumstances. Only eighteen months ago, the Lahore people gave a remarkable display of selfcontrol and patient forbearance when their great leader was beaten by police officers before their very eyes. This self-restraint is due to the influence and teaching of their saintly warrior and leader. Under the most trying circumstances when all sorts of provocation are offered, it is not difficult to understand how people have sometimes lost their temper and used violence, but this violence is nothing compared with that used by the British workers against their own people and with impunity. To shoot and belabor unarmed people, because one of the crowd threw a stone which hit the European Deputy Commissioner is inhuman, and to call these people "an angry mob armed with brickbats" is the blackest of lies.

The news of the Amritsar massacre did not reach England until months after the event, and similarly the news of the terrible violence which is being perpetrated all over India will not for some time reach the ears of our masters in Great Britain, but the fact remains that as Jallianwala Bagh left indelible scars on the heart of our people, so will the sounds of these violent deeds ring from one end of the country to the other, and stories and songs of these persecutions and

sufferings will be handed down from generation to generation.

Great Britain will never learn her lesson: she has known the bloody history of Ireland and the story of American Independence; she has seen Czardom and its reaction in the form of bloody revolution; in Egypt she has displayed her military power in a hundred and one ways, imprisoning and exiling Egypt's great leader, imprisoning and hanging men on flimsy grounds and inflicting terrible humiliations, before she would bend to the will of the great nation and be ready to bring about an amicable and friendly agreement.

In India persecution, prosecution, vilification and violence are in full swing. We know how the late Lord Northcliffe's publicity department's cock-and-bull stores of the inhuman nature of the German character were broadcast far and wide, so that even lifelong British socialists were convinced that the annihiliation of the weaker sex of the German nation was a really possible remedy. So it is that the Government of India has started its publicity work in good earnest, and manages to throw the blame for the diabolical excesses of its officers at Peshawar, Delhi and other places on the devoted heads of non-violent Congressmen and their great leader. The truth, however, will out and future historians will lay bare in its true colors the character of our masters, for India is prepared to suffer and sacrifice all for the coveted goal, unmindful of the consequences of the wrath of the most powerful government of the world.

—*N. R. Dharmavir.*

The People.

The Study Table

The Last Word in War Books

I have read all, or at least most, of the war-books from Barbusse's "Under Fire" to Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front." I have supped fat with horrors, and would have said that I had tasted everything that this literature of the private soldier has to offer. But here is a book* more terrible than all that have gone before. We are told that it has created a sensation in England—that Canada (the author is a Canadian and writes of his Dominion regiment) has held up the book, pending investigation. We can well believe it. This author has penetrated deeper than any other writer of whom we know, and tells things no other has yet dared to tell.

The very first chapter describes the utter debauchery of the soldier-boys—their swinish drinking, their filthy talk, their beastly intercourse with women—even before they had left these shores. The picture of the departing Canadians marching through the streets of Montreal amid the shouts of men and the tears of women, all drunk, many too drunk to stand, is one never to be forgotten. Then follow the hideous descriptions of the trench fighting at the front—the terror of the soldiers, their hatred of the war, their blind madness of blood and slaughter, and their utter demoralization during the periods of relief. If there is any beauty in war, any heroism in battle, it is not in these pages. On the contrary, there is only a crude beastliness, an utter degradation of man to an inner vileness of spirit to match the outer hell in which he fights off death. "At the base a sergeant once told me," says the author, "that all a soldier needed was a strong back and a weak mind." Yes, and a lost soul!

There are things in this book, as I have said, which have not been told before. The ugly fighting among the troops for food and comfort—the shooting of hated officers in the back—the orders to take no prisoners, and the obedience to these orders in the shooting down of helpless and unarmed Germans like frightened rabbits—the carrying of supplies, weapons and ammunition on Allied hospital ships—and, most sensational of all, the story of the looting by Canadians of the French city of Arras, and the machine-gun resistance of the Canadians against the English who had come to recapture the town from their own allies. This last story has been whispered about often enough, but always officially denied. Now comes in this book the detailed account of a man who participated in the wrecking and burning of Arras. I do not wonder that the Canadian government is trying to find a good reason for suppressing this volume.

As to the literary merits of the book, I seem to have no opinion. I know that it lacks the epic quality of Barbusse's masterpiece; I feel that it has little of the dignity and even beauty of Remarque's extraordinary work. But I can testify that it has a living reality which freezes the blood and rattles the bones. The reading of this book left my critical faculties simply paralyzed, so awful is the story. I challenge anybody to read the story of the bayonet, thrust into the German's ribs, which wouldn't come out (pages 111-114) without being too sick to think or judge anything.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"Generals Die in Bed," by Charles Yale Harrison. Published by William Morrow & Co. $2.50.

A Chaplain in the War

Let no one read "Retreat"* who is looking for the ordinary war story. It is rather the tragedy of a soul set against a background of the travesty of Christian civilization trying to carry on a moral war. The Reverend Elliot Warne, rector of a pleasant parish in the heart of England, after three years of indecision, enters the British army as a chaplain. He reaches his destination late at night, utterly untrained in any way which would enable him to be of any use to the men to whom he was assigned. He reached the army in France just at the time when it was in the midst of a "retreat" (hence the name of the book) a time when every moment was a moment of danger and crisis, when men's minds and bodies were worn to a frazzle with weariness and fright, danger and exposure.

The new chaplain was received with no enthusiasm by anyone of the headquarters staff, and yet with a politeness and consideration which reflected the traditional and generally accorded respect for the man of religion. From the first moment of his arrival he was terrified. He had had no hardening process. He was a tenderfoot. He was nevertheless driven by an abnormal conscience to try to find some way in which he could be of use religiously to these men to whom he had been assigned. And here the tragedy begins. The army ethics are not of his code. To him they

*Retreat, A Novel of 1918, by C. R. Benstead. The Century Co. $3.00.

seem brutal, savage. He is constantly shocked at the conduct of men at war. He discovers at once that they are at heart fine chaps, with a persistence in their endurance of every kind of hardship, hunger, loss of sleep, absence of all the surroundings of comfort and luxury to which they had been accustomed, and yet as the exigencies of their jobs demanded violating all the conventions of decency and morality which both he and they had observed at home. The shock of fear, the sense of outrage at what seemed to him the flouting of all that he had been taught was right, combined to clamp down all his inhibitions so that he was utterly unable to fit in anywhere. He never ceased to be a hindrance to all that was going on rather than a help. He was just one more charge added to what his comrades already had to bear.

Your reviewer feels that right here should be entered a word of criticism of the author's drawing of the character. It seems almost incredible that any man of ordinary ability would not have found some way of being of use to those who were wearied to exhaustion with the work they were forced to do, instead of just standing by helplessly, and becoming thus an additional burden to his comrades. The only explanation would seem to be that everything they were doing was altogether contrary to his code. To help in any of the war activities would be to violate his code of conduct. At all events, he did nothing. But always he was haunted by a convicting conscience. He had joined the army from a compelling sense of religious duty. He must make his contribution to the souls' welfare of these soldiers. And yet there seemed to be no room for anything. He was utterly unable to find any way of approach. Everybody was so busy, so utterly given over to sin that he could find no point of contact, at least for any kind of religious office with which he was familiar. And here begins what is at once the pathos and the tragedy of the man. For when at last, helped by the genuine kindness of his superior officers, and not by his own initiative, he did organize a religious "parade" as it was called, both the pathos and the tragedy of the situation appeared. That any man in his sober senses could suppose that any dent could be made in this solid wall of army indifference to anything but the immediate reaction to the biting necessity of getting out of their awful scrape, and engineering the retreat which they were forced to make, by any such futile means as those which our hero adopted, seems so incredible that one wonders if the author has not overdone the thing. The slight gesture which was the "parade" was shown up in its futility still more by the reverence shown by him to the little "pyx," the box for carrying the communion wafer. This little ecclesiastical receptacle seemed to him quite indispensable for carrying out any religious service to the men. And when the irrepressible young orderly, Dalgith, was provoked to merriment over the situation, Warne was simply horrified.

This will give the reader some idea of the preposterousness of the whole situation. Here were the cruel realities of this frightful war game, men driven to the extreme of exhaustion by the grueling exigencies of the retreat, so that Dalgith could stretch out on the running board and fender of an automobile and sleep soundly over a rough road, and Cheyne, the young captain, was driven to drink to enable him to get by, while the colonel, a man of steel, was the only one of the headquarters staff who stood up against the inhuman strain, and the chaplain could find no way of making any contribution except through useless and unusable rites which could not come within a thousand miles of the needs of these harrassed and shell shocked men.

Little by little, by the slow attrition of the terrific strain of the experiences through which he was going, worn down by an accusing conscience because he was making no contribution to the situation, constantly shocked by what seemed to him the blasphemies of the men, our hero found all his world slipping. Where was God that he could let such things go on? At times it seemed as if his mind was going, his faith was outraged and insufficient to meet the frightful contradictions of the situation, he was in "retreat." His depression grows blacker and blacker, until finally we read,

> For seconds Warne gibbered, his lower jaw working up and down like a rat's when the bird is just beyond reach. And then words broke forth in a flood. Unbridled at last, his voice rose to the frenzied scream he had so long feared. And thus he denied his God. When O'Reilly dashed into the tent, Warne lay as he had fallen, his arms crumpled beneath him. A deep flush had suffused his cheeks and his breath came stertorously. But although his eyes were open he did not see O'Reilly, or the others. He could suffer no more.
>
> Next morning they were to lift him into an ambulance.

And so ended Warne's tragic retreat from the unrealities of the world in which he had lived with his unreal religion to the other world into which he had been so brutally thrust by the horrors of war.

But this realistic novel is more than a depiction of the break down of a character falsely built on a foundation of unreal religion. It is also a showing up of the utter hollowness of such a religion, and its complete inability to cope with the realities of life. Listen to the Doctor, O'Reilly talking about it all. One of the men had spoken of two or three other chaplains who had not retreated.

> Which (retorted O'Reilly), only goes to prove what I've always contended. It's the man that counts in the long run. He is the mouthpiece, the leader. Faith by itself is not enough. Witness Warne. You wouldn't ask a fellow who hasn't the faintest grasp of the elementary principles of arithmetic to run a bank, and yet that is the sort of system tolerated in the church. As far as I know, the church is, at present, the only institution on this earth that does not demand of its acolytes the obvious qualities necessary for the functions they are to fulfill, namely that they should be leaders of men and not sanctimonious parrots. Instead they give an amiable nonentity, very often a social climber, a few months' theological training, and then shove him into a pulpit there to propound dubious solutions to problems which have been worrying his elders and betters for years. It is not good enough. It's bad for the church.

And later:

> Religion, which is the expression of Faith, has got to reach into the council chambers of kings and permeate the whole fabric of international society before there's peace on earth and good will among men. And it would if the church had been run as Christ had intended it to be run. Instead, what have we? A moribund, emasculated thing, choking to death under the frills and trimmings that generations of self-seeking half-wits have tied on it. Present-day religion is like a woman's hat, or a Deauville bathing costume: utility is subordinate to a decorative detail. . . . We're a comic lot of Christians and no mistake!

And at the end:

> And thus Warne was taken from the war—a war in which hope had set out to achieve so much and had accomplished so little; a war that had crushed his spirit and killed his soul without so much as revealing itself to his face.

JAMES A. FAIRLEY.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

General Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation
Including the
YOUTH SECTION
Unity House, Forest Park, Pa.
September 11-14, 1930

Overcoming Violence in My Community, A. J. Muste, Chairman.

Thursday, Sept. 11

What are the Principal Sources of Violence in My Community? (a) The experience of labor, Louis Francis Budenz, editor, *Labor Age* and director of numerous nationally known strikes. (b) The origins of violence as traced to such day-by-day educational factors as the movies, newspapers, race prejudice, R. O. T. C., etc., Paul H. Douglas, acting director, Swarthmore Unemployment Study.

Friday Morning, Sept. 12

(c) The origins of violence as traced to police, courts and prisons. (To be announced).)

What are the Principal Resources for Non-Violent Solutions of Conflict in my Community? F. Ernest Johnson, secretary, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches.

Friday Evening, Sept. 12

How Can Latent Non-Violent Resources be Drawn into Action Against Violence? Kirby Page, editor, *The World Tomorrow.*

Saturday morning, Sept. 13

Fellowship Activities in the United States, the Secretaries, old and new.

Saturday evening, Sept. 13

Fellowship Activities Abroad, J. B. Matthews—Europe; Charles A. Thomson—Central America.

Sunday morning, Sept. 14

Worship. Mordecai W. Johnson, President, Howard University (invited).

End of Conference

Meeting of the Council to decide on Objectives and Work for the Year, Sunday afternoon and evening.

Representatives of local F. O. R. groups are invited to sit in on these discussions.

Purpose of the Conference

Believing that the effectiveness of the Fellowship depends upon two simultaneous emphases, namely, (1) What I can do now locally, (2) Actual local fellowship in discussing it and carrying it out, and that corporate activities will continue to be weak while either is lacking, no matter how far the other is perfected, this Conference is designed to be part of the year's planned activities to inspire more energetic thought and action on the part of Fellowship groups throughout the country.

In most cities our corporate activities are weak or very intermittent. A special effort should be made to have F. O. R. delegates present at this Conference from the forty or more cities where we have groups. Plans are being made to follow up vigorously the Conference in the fall, without any delay, by secretaries' visits to Fellowship groups in different cities and through the News Letter and other activities from the general office.

The timeliness of the Conference topic is evident to all who have caught the true meaning of the Fellowship's purpose! Violence is all about us. It is ours to find non-violent means of overcoming it.

Forest Park

September in Poconos!

Forest Park is in the densely wooded lake country eighteen miles north of Stroudsburg, Pa. Unity House, a summer hotel owned and operated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, affords excellent accommodations—quiet, simple, and restful. The grounds comprise 750 acres, including a 75-acre lake. Facilities for sports include swimming, boating, tennis, bowling, hiking and riding, as well as games, and are open to all.

Reservations

Accommodations will be at the rate of $3.50 per day for board and room, two in a room, single beds. Single rooms can be had by paying an additional $1.00 (without running water) or $1.50 (with running water) per day.

The Conference fee of $2.00 ($1.00 for those present less than two full days) should be paid when making the reservation. This is to cover the expenses of leaders, printing etc.

Reservations should be sent to the Fellowship, 383 Bible House, New York City, using the enclosed card.

To Get There

Go to Stroudsburg, Pa., via the D. L. and W. or the Pennsylvania railroads, or by bus. Take the Unity House bus at the railway station ($1.00 each way). More detailed information will be given upon application.

Conference Notes

The Conference is open to all, whether members of the Fellowship or not, who are interested in building a peaceful world. All such are invited to attend and share in the discussions.

The Youth Section may arrange for special meetings during the Conference but will, in general, share in the regular sessions.

Correspondence

A Personal Letter from India

Dear Mr. Holmes:

Repression is going on in ever increasing ways. You must have read that Rev. Keithan, an American missionary of the Madura Mission, has been practically obliged to leave the country for the "offense" of entertaining an Englishman who had sympathies with the National movement. Mr. Keithan escaped prison because he was an American. There are several Indians undergoing imprisonment for the "heinous offense" of giving a cup of water to a Satygrahi. What a nervous state the government must be in to do such things. Of course, the whole trouble with them is they feel they have been found out in their dirty game of exploiting the masses after uttering grandiose statements about their solicitude for the people. Till recently even Gandhiji used to credit them with certain amount of honesty and good intentions but the whole country is awakened now to the blood-sucking that has been going on for decades and are not going to let things drift along any more. This is rather inconvenient to the Britisher. He still fears the world opinion and so is not willing to resort to fire arms in suppressing a non-violent nation. At first they trapped a few people in stray places into using violence. But our leaders have wonderfully succeeded in bringing back the nation as a whole to non-violent methods. Dealing with such a problem baffles a Britisher. For this very reason they are trying to frighten the people into submission by torturing them and then they hope they can keep the news from reaching uncomfortable quarters by censorship. I do hope you are getting *Young India* and letters from Indian without any trouble.

What Gandhiji has done for India is incalculable. He has aroused a slumbering nation into action within a few months. In the course of a few years he has transformed the most docile province Gujarat which has been under foreign yoke for nearly seven hundred years—Muslim, Mahratta, and British—and brought out even the women to fight. It is a most marvelous achievement, even for a life time, but for the efforts of about ten years it is a great thing.

K.

Arms and War

Editor of UNITY:

I have read Edwin D. Mead's interesting article on "The University Voice on War." Public opinion is certainly the thing which must be depended upon actually to end war. And for public opinion to end war, it must become a positive opinion *against* the maintenance of armed forces. Hence that part of the general public belonging to each particular nation must be made to know that its own nation will be more likely to have peace if unarmed than if armed. For whatever the excuses for armaments, they are really utensils for use in war—*not* in the conduct of peace! That is why keeping the Women's Peace Union amendment before the people of this country is desirable, for until public opinion makes that amendment an effective part of the Federal Constitution, this nation's adherence to the Pact of Paris is contradicted by its own supreme law.

And until the people become sufficiently informed on the natural basis for economic relations between sane adult human beings, so long will there be an incentive to monopolize natural resources at home and abroad, and so cause friction and in the end war.

Sincerely,

VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW

Youth for Outlawry of War

At the summer conference of Unitarian young people, held at the Isles of Shoals, New Hampshire, in July, one hundred and fifty delegates signed the following statement:

"Whereas, we a group of young people who have dedicated ourselves to the highest possibilities and virtues of mankind, realize the fundamental importance of a continued stand against resorting to militarism for the settlement of human conflict; therefore

"Be it resolved, That we persistently and uncompromisingly ally ourselves to the cause of the outlawry of war."

A special committee drew up the following supplementary statement which was signed by some thirty delegates:

"Having agreed that war is brutal, degrading, wasteful, and unnecessary; that as we have put aside dueling in favor of arbitration in personal conflicts, we should do the same in national conflicts; and since the nations have decided that they will no longer resort to war as a national instrument to settle disputes among themselves; and since history does not record any war which has been basically just, rational, or idealistic, nor are present prospects indicative of any future war being so:

"Therefore, we Shoalers, as individuals, will do our utmost to promote the cause of world peace, by study, by doing all in our power to make the rest of the persons in our group and our nation peace-conscious by honoring and upholding the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, by fostering international good will, and by helping to create public opinion for disarmament."

Independence of the Philippines

"The Anti-Imperialist League of the United States stands for the complete and immediate independence of the Philippines. It supports those movements in the Philippines which stand on this program and opposes those half-hearted advocates of independence who give lip service to the principle but sabotage it in practice.

"The Filipino politicians in official charge of the 'independence commission' are making no genuine effort to free the Philippines. Men such as Quezon, Osmena and Roxas compromise with American imperialist interests obviously in an attempt to share with them the exploitation of the islands.

"The only solid basis for the freedom of the Philippines is to be found not among the politicians but among the working and peasant classes who are awakening to the need of independent action. These forces are beginning to understand that their's is a common struggle with the anti-imperialist movements in other parts of the Orient against alien rule.

"While the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States supports any honest movement for the immediate and complete independence of the Philippines, it does not see in the petitions to Washington and inside political wire-pulling, any hope for vigorous struggle. We, therefore, pledge our support to those elements among the Filipinos in the United States and in the Philippines who are committed to a program of independence based upon an uncompromising struggle by the workers and peasants. We call upon all who believe in freeing the Philippines at once and without conditions to join us in our campaign to unite with those elements, to intensify the struggle, and to expose the ineffective and insincere tactics of the present official leaders."

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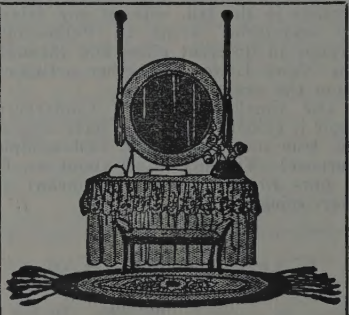

IN SEPTEMBER

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Of all the books on the subject known to us, this is unquestionably the one we can most highly recommend to the casual reader, who is not a student of the subject but who nevertheless is anxious to be clearly posted.—*Weekly People, New York.*

What is going on in India concerns every American, and the effort to understand the manner of the modern social evolution there is about as well worth while as anything to which thoughtful men and women can address themselves today. This book is a real contribution toward such understanding. —*Hollywood Citizen.*

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